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AUTHOR Linnell, Julian; And Others
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ABSTRACT

In this study, the performance of apologies among 20 non-native speakers (NNSs) of English and 20 native speakers (NSs) of English was examined. Two questions were addressed: How did NNSs' apologies compare with NSs' in identical situations? What relationship existed between the performance of apologies by NNSs and Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) scores? Eight verbal discourse completion tests were administered by the researchers to the participants on a one-to-one basis. Each response was taped, transcribed, coded, and analyzed by the researchers. No significant differences were found between NNSs and NSs in six out of eight situations. According to NS norms, explicit apologies, acknowledgements and intensifiers were significantly undersupplied by NNSs in two of the situations. No linear relationship was found to exist between TOEFL scores and the performance of apologies by NNSs. (JL)

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Can you apologize me? An investigation of speech act performance among non-native speakers of English

Julian Linnell, Felicia Lincoln Porter, Holly Stone, Wan-Lai Chen
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

In this study the performance of apologies among 20 non-native speakers (NNSs) of English and 20 native speakers (NSs) of English was examined. Two questions were addressed: How did NNSs' apologies compare with NSs' in identical situations? What relationship existed between the performance of apologies by NNSs and TOEFL scores? Eight verbal discourse completion tests designed by Cohen and Olshtain were administered by the researchers to the participants on a one-to-one basis. Each response was taped, transcribed, coded and analyzed (both quantitatively and qualitatively) by the researchers. No significant differences were found between NNSs and NSs in six out of eight situations. According to NS norms, explicit apologies, acknowledgments and intensifiers were significantly undersupplied by NNSs in two of the situations. No linear relationship was found to exist between TOEFL scores and the performance of apologies by NNSs.

Introduction

It is only recently that empirical work in sociolinguistics has begun to research the effect of instruction on speech act acquisition (Billmyer, 1990). Studies on the effect of teaching compliments, for example, seem to show that there may be a shortcut to learning sociolinguistic rules of the target language–shorter than just mingling in the target culture (Olshtain & Cohen, 1985). However, this is an underdeveloped area of research and, as yet, researchers have little evidence for the effect of instruction on the acquisition of other speech acts.

Following Hymes' (1962) original conceptualization of communicative competence, Olshtain and Cohen (1983) have defined sociolinguistic competence as referring to:

> ...the speakers' ability to determine the pragmatic appropriateness of a particular speech act in a given context. At the production level, it involves the selection of one of several grammatically acceptable forms according to the...formality of the situation and of the available forms (33).

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As Wolfson (1989) points out, Hymes did not intend for there to be a dichotomy between grammatical and sociolinguistic competence. He stressed the need to include sociolinguistic rules in the analysis of a language rather than limiting the discussion of a language to grammatical rules. It is necessary to know both the rules of grammar and the rules of use to have competence within a particular speech community. Canale and Swain (1980:28) attempted to clarify what was meant by communicative competence in their theoretical framework for communicative competence by including grammatical, sociolinguistic, strategic, and discourse competence.[1]

Anecdotal evidence has shown that many adult language learners come away from an exchange with native speakers (NSs) certain that they have used the "right words," but their intentions or motives have been misjudged. Native speakers, as well, often come away from these exchanges believing the non-native speakers (NNSs) to be "rude" or "slow" or "difficult." Often this type of thinking produces or reinforces existing cultural stereotypes, encouraging racism and discrimination (Erickson, 1974; Gumperz, 1978; Scollon & Scollon, 1983).

It is important for educators to have access to research that addresses when a learner can be expected to understand and to learn the rules for appropriate speech act behaviors. Research in this area is needed for the development of materials and curricula that reflect the research on acquisition of speech acts. Most materials for English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching are developed without an empirical basis (Billmyer, Jakar & Lee, 1987), although there are exceptions to this rule.[2] ESL textbooks that have been developed using empirical data cannot address the issue of a possible developmental sequence for speech acts because the necessary research has not yet been conducted.

Learning to apologize appropriately is an important part of being communicatively competent within a speech community. NNSs frequently break cultural rules and face the embarrassment of miscommunication. Apologies offer an opportunity to save face in a threatening or difficult circumstance. The focus of this study is the performance of a particular speech act set–apology–by NNSs. This speech act was selected because of the attention it has received in the literature. Studies of apologies in Israel (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983), as well as Wolfson, Marmor, and Jones' (1989) research on the performance of apologies across cultures have provided an empirical basis for describing apologies. An apology is the speech act used when a behavioral norm is broken. According to Olshtain, "When an action or utterance (or lack thereof) results in the fact that one or more

persons perceive themselves as offended, the culpable party(s) needs to apologize" (1983:235). Searle also asserts that both parties must recognize the offense and the need for repair (1976:4).

Some of the questions guiding this study were:

(1) How do NNSs' performance of apologies compare to NSs' norms; and,

(2) Do levels of proficiency as determined by TOEFL scores correspond to the performance of apologies among NNSs?

Apology Studies

Edmondson (1981) considered apologies in his discussion of conversational routines and their locutionary, illocutionary and interactional significance. Coulmas (1981) contrasted thanks and apologies in several European languages[3] and Japanese in order to reveal "certain typological relationships between them" and to show that the "values and norms of a given speech community have a bearing on whether or not [thanks and apologies] are considered as being related activities" (1981:69). Fraser analyzed the components of apologies–"those which must obtain for the act to come off" (1981:259)–and found ten different strategies for apologizing.[4] He claimed a corpus of "several hundred examples of apologizing" collected through "personal experience, participant observation, responses of role playing, and from reports provided by friends and colleagues" and presented "what appear to be clear trends" while not providing any statistical support for the conclusions (266).[5] Fraser considered the severity of the infraction, the nature of the infraction, the situation in which the infraction occurred, the relative familiarity between the interactants, and the sex of the apologizer as factors in the type of apology uttered. Borkin and Reinhart (1978) clarified a distinction between the formulae "Excuse me" and "I'm sorry,"[6] and offered a TESL unit to help explain the difference to non-native speakers of English.

Holmes (1989) used an ethnographic approach to collect data. She discussed a distributional pattern for the use of apologies by women and men as a step in illuminating the sociocultural values of a speech community. Her article also provided a classification of the strategies used. Trosborg (1987) used role plays to elicit her corpus of apologies. She identified seven strategies and compared their uses by native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English whose first language was Dutch. Finally, Cohen and Olshtain attempted to develop a measure of sociocultural competence with regard to the apology (1981) and to account for

language transfer in the development of sociocultural competence in a second language (Olshtain & Cohen, 1983).

One of the goals of this study was to go beyond the current research by adding a cross-cultural study that did not focus on language transfer, but on the patterns of use of apologies by non-native speakers from a variety of language backgrounds. We also wanted to see if the levels of grammatical proficiency (as indicated by TOEFL scores) related to levels of sociolinguistic performance (as compared to NS norms in the identical situations); we assumed there would be no relationship.

The Study

Participants

The participants for this research were 20 NSs and 20 NNSs in Philadelphia. There were 10 male and 10 female NSs while there were 9 male and 11 female NNSs–all 40 of them were between 18 and 50 in age.[7] The first language backgrounds of the NNSs included Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, Swedish, and Thai. All NNSs were students in the English Language Program (ELP) in the University of Pennsylvania.[8] The criteria used for selecting participants for the study was that they all were affiliated with a university in Philadelphia. The NSs were acquaintances and friends of the researchers who volunteered to take part in the study. The researchers included two females from the USA, one male from Britain, and one male from Taiwan (a NNS). The researchers were graduate students at the time of the study and had considerable professional experience in the teaching of English as second language.

At the time of this study, the NNSs had been in the United States for a period ranging from two weeks to six years. In general, they reported using English rarely with NSs previously in their own countries or here in the United States. NNSs volunteered to participate in the study. They were told that it was an opportunity to practice their spoken English. NNSs volunteered from all levels at ELP except the lowest level class.[9]

Data Collection

NNS data were collected in ELP classrooms at the University of Pennsylvania. The researchers first introduced themselves to the participants, explained the requirements of the activity, and then proceeded with the taping. NS data were

collected in the office of one of the researchers at Drexel University in Philadelphia and in a few of the researchers' homes.

Apologies are difficult to collect naturalistically without extensive ethnographic data collection. Cohen and Olshtain (1981) elicited data through the use of role plays based on Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs). They attempted to set up norms of usage in several languages in order to compare the use of apologies in the second language–English. A modified version of Cohen and Olshtain's DCTs was used for data collection in this study. Situations were presented verbally, rather than in writing. The instrument we used required a verbal response but was not necessarily interactional since there was no response and no negotiation. Since DCTs are by definition written and role plays are generally interactional, we use the term "verbal DCT" to describe the instrument.

A total of 13 situations were included, eight requiring an apology (Appendix A) plus five distractors requiring a request. These were written up on cards and re-shuffled for each participant to avoid ordering bias. Each participant met with one of the four researchers who explained the situation and read the initial part of the exchange. The participants were then expected to supply a "free" response. The participants did not see the written explanation of the situation but were allowed to ask questions about words they did not understand. There was no opportunity for participants to practice their replies. They were instructed to respond as if interacting with an anonymous person. The researchers did not respond to the participants' replies. The following excerpt (Table1) illustrates how the verbal DCT was conducted.

Table 1: Administration of Verbal DCT

Researcher:	You bump into, do you know bump into? run into?
NNS:	uh-huh
Researcher:	You bump into an older lady in a store you couldn't help it because she was in your way she was she was in your way
NNS:	uh-hm
Researcher:	uh but you still feel like you owe her some kind of apology she says "Oh my!" What would you say to her?
NNS:	sorry
Researcher:	ok

Participants met with one of the researchers in separate classrooms. Sessions took 20-30 minutes to complete. Each participants completed the 13 verbal DCTs during one session. Interactions were audiotaped, then the audiotapes were transcribed. The transcripts were coded and analyzed. Coding (Table 2) was done using a revised version of Holmes (1989). One semantic formula was modified (3) and four were added (6,7,8,9) .

Table 2: Coding Scheme

	Coding Categories	Possible Realizations (Formulae)
1.	Explicit Apologies	I apologize; I'm sorry; Excuse me
2.	Explanations	The bus was late
3.	Acknowledgement of Responsibility	It was my fault; I was confused; You're right; I didn't mean to
4.	Offer of Repair (Physical/Relational)	Can you give me one more chance? Let me help you up
5.	Promise of Forbearance	I won't let it happen again
6.	No Acknowledgement	Silence; I don't know what to say; You are to blame
7.	Advice for the Future	Next time take care[10]
8.	Intensifier	very...
9.	Pre-Modifiers	Oh...

Using the revised coding scheme, all four researchers individually coded their own corpus. Then they coded each other's. Where there was disagreement, the final coding was decided through discussion until a consensus was reached. The coding was tallied for each of the 20 NSs and 20 NNSs for each situation. Then the mean frequency of the group of NSs was compared to that of the NNSs using a two-tailed T-test to see if any significant differences existed. In those situations where formulae were significantly different between the NS group and the NNS group, we made a further examination of the NNS data to ascertain whether there were patterns of variation within the NNS group and how these corresponded with the TOEFL scores.

The two research questions for the study were:

(1) How do NNS's conform or diverge from NS norms in the performance of apologies?

(2) What relationship exists between NNS performance of apologies and NNS TOEFL scores?

Our hypotheses for each question were as follows:

(H1) Differences between NSs and NNSs in the performance of apologies were due to chance ($p \leq 0.05$).

(H2) Differences between TOEFL score groups in the performance of apologies were due to chance ($p \leq 0.5$)

The number of instances for each type of apology used in each situation (8 types of apology, 8 situations) were counted. The unit of analysis was the entire reply. After tabulating the data, the total and mean scores for each participant were calculated. A total of 64 two-tailed T-tests were calculated using an IBM statistics package to determine whether differences between NS and NNS mean scores were due to chance for each of the apology types in each situation (Appendix B, Tables 1 and 2).

Findings

In response to the first question, our findings indicated that NNSs diverged from NSs in the performance of apologies in two out of eight situations given in the verbal DCTs. Hypothesis 1 was rejected in six out of eight situations and accepted in two out eight situations at $p \leq 0.05$ level of significance. This finding revealed that NNSs significantly undersupplied certain types of apology in two out of the eight situations in comparison to NS norms in identical situations. More specifically, NNS significantly undersupplied explicit apologies (e.g., "I apologize") in a situation where an unintentional insult was given (Situation 1), acknowledgments of responsibility (e.g., "It was my fault") when forgetting a meeting with a boss (Situation 2), and intensifiers (e.g., "very sorry") in a situation where an unintentional insult was given (Situation 1).

We include several examples from the transcripts to indicate the types of differences that existed between the NNSs and the NSs. Examples 1-3 illustrate where NNS significantly undersupplied types of apologies, and 4-5 where no significant difference existed between NNSs and NSs. The bolded words indicate examples of the types of apology that were compared.

(1) Explicit Apology in Situation 1

You're at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him. He says, "I feel that your last remark was directed at me and I take offense."

NNS: Take it easy–if er I wrong wrong I will mm I'll make a dinner for you.

NS: Oh, **I'm sorry** if you took offense I meant nothing personal by it I was just referring in general it wasn't referred to you or anyone else here–it's just a general remark **I'm sorry** if you took offense.

In the above extract, the NNS uses an American idiom "take it easy" in an inappropriate context and attempts to redress his offense by making dinner for the victim. Business colleagues in America do not redress an insult by offering to make dinner. Such an offer would appear socially awkward in the American context, but perhaps in the NNS's culture this would be an acceptable offer (whether or not the offender really intends to make a meal for the victim is another question).

(2) Acknowledgment of Responsibility in Situation 2

You completely forgot a crucial meeting with your boss. An hour later you call him to apologize. The problem is that this is the second time you've forgotten such a meeting. Your boss gets on the line and asks, "What happened to you ?"

NNS: Next time um don't wait don't wait don't wait um promise o.k.

NS: I'm really sorry **I was being negligent I understand that** I missed a meeting um I will try to do better in the future.

In this example, the NNS uses an imperative to a superior which may function as an apology from the offender's point of view. To the victim, however, this might appear to function as a directive. The NNS response ends with "Promise o.k." which again seems inappropriate. Why should a superior promise to a subordinate when he or she has been offended? Perhaps this is a case of the NNS's limited linguistic proficiency being combined with sociolinguistic rules from a non-American culture. The net effect would probably not be to restore the broken relationship with the superior.

(3) Intensifier in Situation 1

You're at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him. He says, "I feel that your last remark was directed at me and I take offense."

NNS: I ....I didn't mean that er I'm trying to tell about that that good thing that the that the right the right word

NS: Well you shouldn't because I didn't **really** mean that what I meant to say was something completely different so I ...I don't want you to get offended because it wasn't my intention so I'm sorry I'll say it again

Although both the NNS and the NS use an apology to signal lack of intent, only the NS uses an intensifier. The intensifier strengthens the force of the apology. We were not sure that the NNS had the sociolinguistic repertoire to intensify apologies, nor were we sure whether an intensifier represents a minor social nicety rather than an essential linguistic item for communication to occur.

(4) Explicit Apology and Acknowledgment in Situation 7

You bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at a department store, shaking her up a bit. It's your fault, and you want to apologize. She says, "Hey, look out !"

NNS: **I am sorry I am sorry I didn't see you** I beg your pardon

NS: Oh **I'm sorry** Ma'am uh how careless of me ! **I didn't mean it** are you ok? Can I help you back up ?

In this example, the NNS conforms to the NS norm.

(5) Premodifier in Situation 6

You accidently bump in to a well-dressed elderly lady at an elegant department store, causing her to spill her packages all over the floor. You hurt your leg too. It's clearly your fault and you want to apologize profusely. She says, "Ow ! My goodness !"

NNS: **Oh** I'm sorry I couldn'e you please apologize me

NS: **Oh** my gosh are you ok ? Did I hurt you are you sure you're alright ? **Oh oh** let me help you get your things I'm really sorry are you sure you are alright ?

Here, in both cases, the speakers use the premodifier "oh" to apologize when hurting an elderly lady and causing her to spill her packages. "Oh" signals surprise and sincerity in English and indicates familiarity with American rules of speech, but we do not know if NNSs use similar forms in their cultures and cannot, therefore, account for this as either learned or transferred.

However, the researchers were not satisfied with this finding for several reasons. First, the absence of significant difference between NS mean and NNS mean did not signal equivalence. It does not necessarily follow that NNSs conformed perfectly to NS norms in sociolinguistic terms. NNSs produced utterances that could be coded as target-like but because of their *linguistic forms*, would not be regarded as target-like (TL).

In the following two excerpts (6,7), the NNS supplied semantically similar utterances but the utterances do not sound native-like:

(6) Situation 8

You bump into an elderly lady at a department store. You hardly could have avoided doing so because she was blocking the way. Still you feel that some kind of apology is in order. She says, "Oh, my!"

NNS: Excuse me! You bumped !

NS: Oh excuse me ! I'm sorry I didn't realize you were standing there

In (6) the NNS misuses the verb "to bump." This error makes the NNS appear rude and abrupt (when perhaps he does not intend to be). This illustrates a common problem in NS-NNS interaction. The NS misinterprets the function of the NNS speech act because of a syntactic error. NNSs may use the appropriate function but are not target-like in their syntactic form.

In (7) the NNS's function is similar to the NSs, but the form is different.

(7) Situation 6

You accidently bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at an elegant department store, causing her to spill her packages all over the floor. You hurt your leg too. It's clearly your fault and you want to apologize profusely. She says, "Ow! My goodness!"

NNS: How can you how can I help you ? If you need my help everything will I do

NS: Oh I'm so sorry er let me help you with your packages er my fault I'm very sorry it's an accident I wasn't looking where I was going

The NNS sounds socially awkward although the response is functionally adequate. It seems "excessive" to offer help in every area of the victim's life. The word order problems of "everything I will do" has a socially "jarring" effect similar to (12). The NNS in (14) attempted to redress the offense with an excessive offer. In one situation upon bumping into an elderly lady, one NNS apologized "Sorry. Welcome." This functions as an explicit apology according to the coding scheme, but the form is not target-like. NSs would not say "Welcome" after "Sorry." Apologies and "welcome" are not juxtaposed in this manner.

In response to the second research question concerning correlations between TOEFL scores and the performance of apologies by NNS, the findings indicated that TOEFL was an imprecise predictor for how NNSs would perform this particular speech act. The findings are displayed in graphs 1-8. Graphs 1-4 illustrate differences between TOEFL scoring groups with regard to apologies that were significantly

undersupplied; graphs 5-8 show situations where no significant difference existed between NSs and NNSs. For the purpose of our analysis, we excluded two TOEFL scoring groups (Group A [353-403] and Group C [455-505]) because of the small number of participants who were included in each group. This left us with a lower scoring group (B) and a higher group (D).

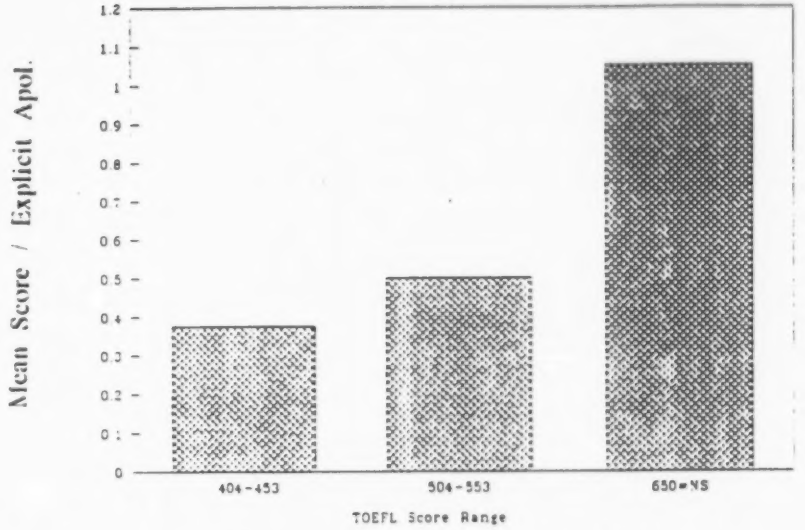
In Graph 1, there was little difference between B and D. In Graph 2, the higher TOEFL group (D) was closer to the NS norm (1.05) with a mean of 1.0, but both groups significantly undersupplied an acknowledgment of responsibility in an unintentional situation. In Graph 3, the lower TOEFL group (B) was closer to the NS norm (1.4) with a mean score of 0.875, but this was still a significant undersuppliance. This was an interesting finding because the higher TOEFL group appeared to be less targetlike than the lower group.[11] In Graph 4, the higher group is closer to the NS norm (0.3) with a mean score for intensifiers in an unintentional insult situation of 0.125.

In Graphs 5-8, no significant differences were found between NSs and NNSs. These graphs represent approximately 5% of the data that were not significant. In Graph 5, the higher TOEFL group had a tendency to oversupply an explicit apology when forgetting a meeting with a boss. The NS norm was 0.9, the high group produced a mean of 1.625 and the low group 0.875 (which was closer to the NS norm). Beebe and Takahashi (1987) also found a tendency for oversuppliance among requests with NNSs. This may indicate a type of sociolinguistic u-shaped development where learners pass through a period of over-supplying a certain form before they learn its restrictions. A similar tendency is revealed in Graph 6. The higher group oversupplied (1.5) and the lower group (1.125) were closer to the NS norm (1.15). In Graph 7 (forgetting a meeting with a friend), however, the higher group (1.125) is closer to the NS norm (1.25) than the lower group (0.625). Why, we asked ourselves, did the higher TOEFL scoring group oversupply explicit apologies rather than acknowledgments of responsibility when forgetting a meeting with a friend? In Graph 8 (bumping into an elderly lady), both groups showed a tendency to oversupply intensifiers. Evidently, it is not enough for NNSs to know wher. and how to apologize, they also need to understand when not to apologize (for example, in car accidents when insurance claims are unresolved).

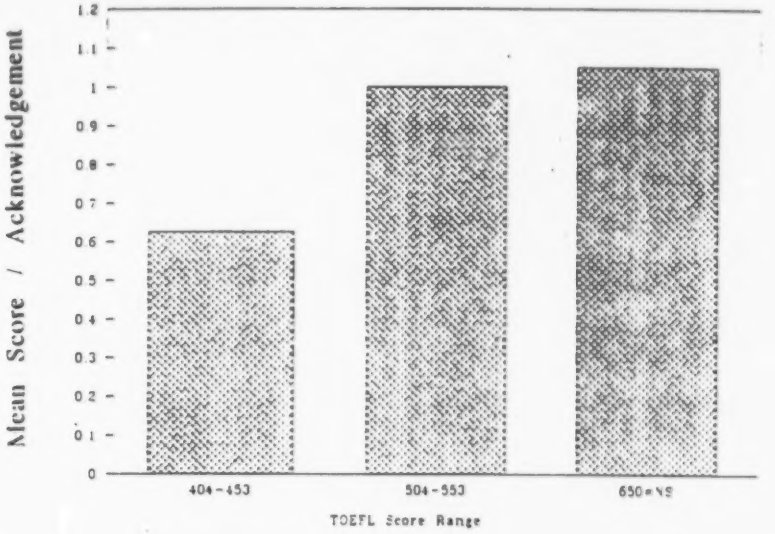
Discussion

NNSs significantly undersupplied explicit apologies, acknowledgment of their need to apologize and the use of intensifiers associated with apologies in an insult-

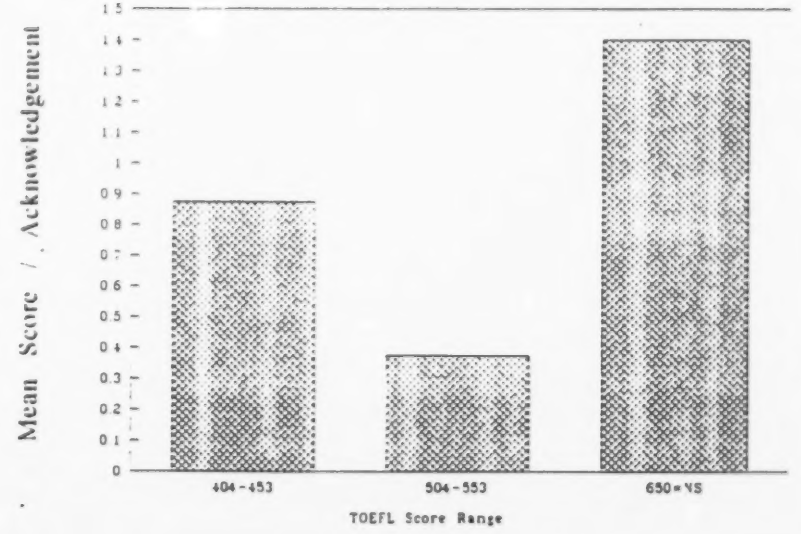
GRAPH 1: UNINTENTIONAL INSULT



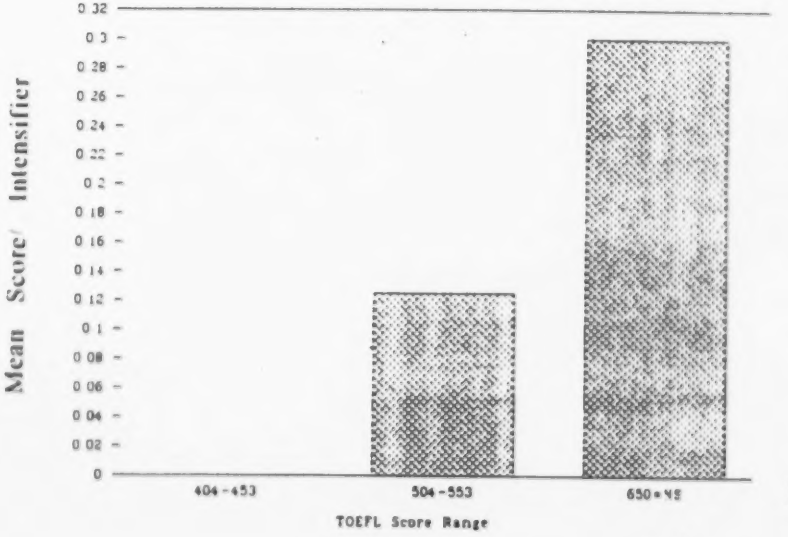
GRAPH 2: UNINTENTIONAL INSULT



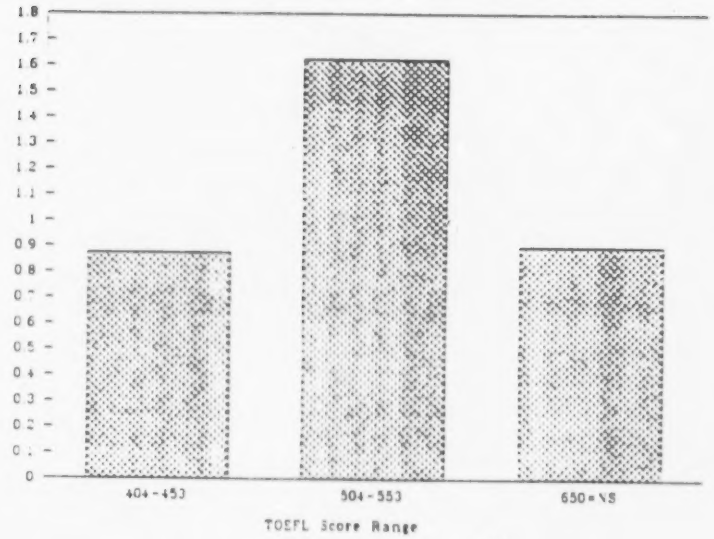
GRAPH 3: FORGET BOSS' MEETING



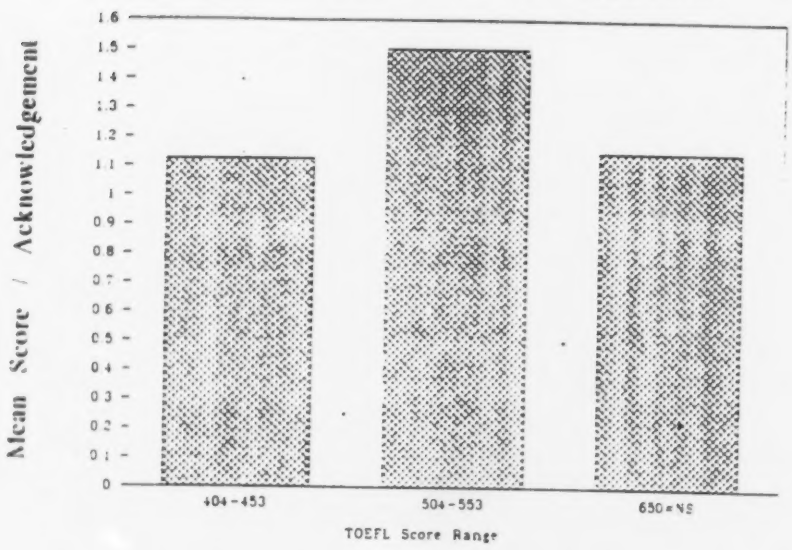
GRAPH 4: UNINTENTIONAL INSULT



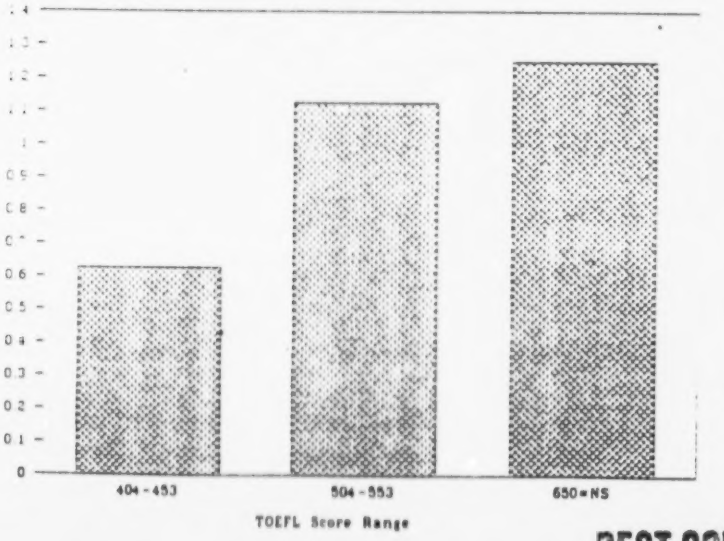
GRAPH 5: FORGET BOSS' MEETING



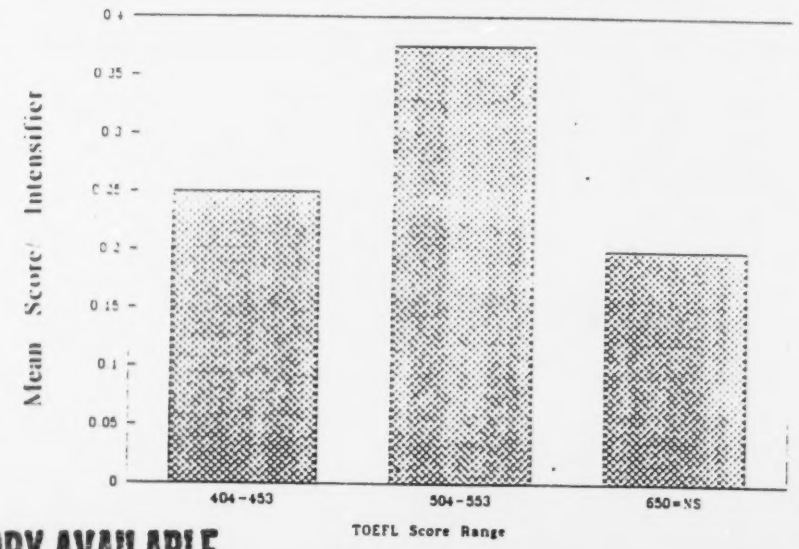
GRAPH 6: FORGET FRIEND MEETING



GRAPH 7: FORGET FRIEND MEETING



GRAPH 8: BUMP ELDERLY LADY



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type situation. NNSs also significantly undersupplied an acknowledgment of their need to apologize in a situation where they had missed an important meeting with their boss. We were surprised to find no instances where NNSs significantly oversupplied the required semantic formulae.[12]

There are several limitations to this study. The small sample size (N=40) is an obvious threat to its external validity. This is true also in regard to the selection bias among the participants–NNSs were doubly self-selected by choosing both ELP and by choosing to participate in the study. There also exists the possibility that an ordering bias of the DCT situations occurred since they were written on cards and shuffled by hand during each interview. It is possible that the variation in the setting may have had some effect on the data collected, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to assess this. DCTs themselves could be criticized for their artificiality and lack of context, even though they permit researchers to collect a large quantity of data fairly rapidly.

Due to the nature of our choice of speech act (the apology), there were limits to the ways data could be collected, especially with the constraints of time and researchers. One NS informant told us he was unsure of what he would say if he "bumped into a lady," because in a "real" situation, he would apologize "until he was satisfied." Evidently this NS could only be "satisfied" through negotiation which was not possible in this study.

Factors such as age, gender and first language backgrounds were not taken into account when the intergroup comparison was made. There may be patterns along these dimensions, but they are beyond the scope of this present study.

Conclusion

Little is known about communicative competence–the rules of sociolinguistic discourse, and little is known about the acquisition of grammatical competence, but even less is known about patterns of acquisition of sociocultural competence among NNSs. More research is needed in the area of speech act acquisition–particularly in relation to time of exposure to the target language, amounts of formal instruction, and amount of NS interaction with NNSs.

Future research on apologies could investigate: 1) naturalistic speech behavior in varied speech communities among NSs and NNSs, using ethnographic methods, 2) quasi-naturalistic oral responses through video-taped apology sequences (preferably from real-life, e.g. customer service encounters at large department stores may have been videotaped for security purposes), 3) unforeseen opportunities for collecting

natural data, 4) video-taped interactions where NNSs perform apologies, followed-up with feedback as both the NNS and the instructor watch the video-tape (Cohen & Olshtain [1992] have begun to expand this type of research). The subjects often waited until we turned the tape recorder off and then apologized for their English. Perhaps in similar studies, researchers could complete the DCT, leave the tape recorded on, and record any subsequent interactions. Alternatively, the researcher could turn off the recorder and make a note when subjects apologize.

Through the course of our research we came to appreciate the difficulty of providing ESL testing, evaluation/placement measures that accurately reflect NS norms. How do we decide *which* NS norms to use? One of the advantages of our study was the comparison of NS norms and NNS performance for subjects who were all members of the same speech community (universities in Philadelphia). However, we recognize the need for NNSs to realize that not all NS norms are the same.

There is a need for research into assessments and evaluations of sociolinguistic competence–assessments that measure grammatical and linguistic competence to insure correct placement and instructional strategies. Instruments must, of course, be developed on empirical foundations that identify competence on both levels. Pedagogy must reflect those studies in the development of ESL curricula and materials to better equip NNSs for interaction with NSs of English.[13]

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1 Although this has not been immune from criticism (see Hornberger, 1988).

2 Notable *Speaking Naturally* (Tillit & Bruder, 1986) and *Say it Naturally: Verbal Strategies for Authentic Communication* (Wall, 1987).

3 They include English, French, German, and Greek.

4 Fraser's ten strategies are labeled as follows: 1) Announcing that you are apologizing, 2) Stating one's obligation to apologize, 3) Offering to apologize, 4) Requesting the hearer accept an apology, 5) Expressing regret for the offense, 6) Requesting forgiveness for the offense, 7) Acknowledging responsibility for the offending act, 8) Promising forbearance from a similar offending act, 9) Offering redress, and, 10) Recantation.

5 This collection of data seems to be quite impressive, yet the analysis presented in the article does not lead the reader to believe that the inferences were drawn from the corpus, but rather from the author's native speaker intuition with the support of the data. The ten strategies, for example, contain stilted wording in the examples for the strategies: under Strategy 3, Offering to apologize, the example is "'I (hereby) offer my apology for..."

6 The generalization that Borkin and Reinhart discovered was that when Americans bump into a stranger "excuse me" primarily expresses the speaker's relationship to a rule or a set of rules, while "I'm sorry" primarily expresses the speaker's relation to another person (65).

7 We readily acknowledge that this large age range may have influenced our findings.

8 Except one international graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania.

9 The lowest level classes at ELP were not approached because it was felt that their lack of linguistic proficiency might have prohibited them from understanding the DCT's.

10 F7, "Advice for the Future," was very uncommon and was only given a separate category because of doubt over how else to label it. Only two NNSs used this formula and only one time each.

11 Alternatively, we might suggest that there were more individuals in the higher group who did not feel the need to acknowledge their responsibility to a boss.

12 Oversuppliance by instructed learners was found by Doughty, 1988.

13 This paper would have been impossible without the help, encouragement and advice of the following: the students and the instructors in the English Language Programs at the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Kristine Billmyer and Dr. Boe of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania; Professor Dell Hymes of the University of Virginia; Professor Andrew Cohen of the University of Minnesota; Kim Linnell and Howard Porter. The authors, however, take full responsibility for any faults or problems related to this study.

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Appendix A

Cohen and Olhstain's Discourse Completion Test (1981)

S 1 You're at a meeting and you say something that one of the participants interprets as a personal insult to him.
He: "I feel that your last remark was directed at me and I take offense."
You:

S 2 You completely forget a crucial meeting at the office with your boss. An hour later you call him to apologize. The problem is that this is the second time you've forgotten such a meeting. Your boss gets on the line and asks:
Boss: "What happened to you?"
You:

S 3 You forget a get-together with a friend. You call him to apologize. This is already the second time you've forgotten such a meeting. Your friend asks over the phone:
Friend: "What happened?"
You:

S 4 You call from work to find out how things are at home and your kid reminds you that you forgot to take him shopping, as you had promised. And this is the second time that this has happened. Your kid says over the phone:
Kid: "Oh, you forgot again and you promised!"
You:

S 5 Backing out of a parking place, you run into the side of another car. It was clearly your fault. you dent in the side door slightly. The driver gets out and comes over to you angrily.
Driver: "Can't you look where you're going? See what you've done?"
You:

S 6 You accidentally bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at an elegant department store, causing her to spill her packages all over the floor. You hurt her leg, too. It's clearly your fault and you want to apologize profusely.
She: "Ow! My goodness!"

S 7 You bump into a well-dressed elderly lady at a department store, shaking her up a bit. It's your fault, and you want to apologize.
She: "Hey, look out!"
You:

S 8 You bump into an elderly lady at a department store. You hardly could have avoided doing so because she was blocking the way. Still, you feel that some kind of apology is in order.
She: "Oh, my!"
You:

Appendix B

Table 1

Correlation between TOEFL scores and NNS performance of apologies: significant undersuppliance of explicit apologies, acknowledgments and intensifiers in two situations (1=unintentional insult, 2=forgetting meeting with boss).

Hypothesis: differences between TOEFL groups and NSs were due to chance (rejected at $p \leq 0.05$).

TOEFL group	Situation 1 Insult Explicit Apology	Situation 1 Insult Acknowledged	Situation 1 Insult Intensifier	Situation 1 Forget Boss Acknowledged
Group A (353-403)				
353	0	1	0	0
366	1	0	0	0
Group B (404-454)				
420	1	0	0	1
427	0	1	0	1
430	1	0	0	1
430	0	0	0	1
433	0	1	0	0
439	0	1	0	1
443	1	1	0	1
453	0	1	0	1
Group C (455-505)				
492	1	0	0	0
500	1	1	0	0
Group D (506-556)				
520	0	1	0	0
523	1	1	0	1
525	0	1	0	0
527	0	1	1	0
530	0	1	0	0
545	1	2	0	1
550	2	0	0	1
553	0	1	0	0
NS Mean	1.05	1.05	0.3	1.4
NNS Mean	1.0 (C)	1.0 (D)	0.125 (D)	0.875 (B)
	0.5 (D)	0.625 (B)	0.0 (A)	0.5 (A)
	0.5 (A)	0.5 (C)	0.0 (B)	0.375 (D)
	0.375 (B)	0.5 (A)	0.0 (C)	0.0 (C)
T-Test ≤0.05	significant	significant	significant	significant

*TOEFL scores were grouped at 50 point intervals because Educational Testing Service (ETS) who produced the test stated that only differences greater than this were significant.

Table 2

Correlation between TOEFL score groups and NNS performance of apologies: No significant difference in types of apologies used in 6 out of 8 situations between NS and NNS.

Hypothesis: differences between NS and NNS in the performance of apologies due to chance (accepted at $p \leq 0.05$).

TOEFL group	Situation 2 Forget Boss Explicit Apology	Situation 3 Forget Friend Explicit Apology	Situation 3 Forget Friend Acknowledgement	Situation 7 Bump Lady Intensifier
Group A (353-403)				
353	1	1	1	0
366	1	1	1	0
Group B (404-454)				
420	1	1	1	0
427	1	2	1	1
430	1	0	1	0
430	1	0	0	0
433	1	1	0	1
439	1	2	2	0
443	0	1	0	0
453	1	2	0	0
Group C (455-505)				
492	1	1	1	0
500	2	2	2	1
Group D (506-556)				
520	3	2	0	1
523	1	2	2	0
525	1	1	2	1
527	1	1	2	1
530	2	2	1	0
545	2	2	0	1
550	1	1	1	0
553	2	1	2	0
NS Mean	0.9	1.15	1.25	0.2
NNS Mean	1.625 (D)	1.5 (D)	1.5 (C)	0.5 (C)
	1.5 (C)	1.5 (C)	1.125 (D)	0.375 (D)
	1.0 (A)	1.125 (B)	1.0 (A)	0.25 (B)
	0.875 (B)	1.0 (A)	0.625 (B)	0.0 (A)
T-Test ≤0.05	ns	ns	ns	ns

NB : Figure 3 displays 3 types of apology in 3 situations and represents approximately 5% of the data .